1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RJ4 Koryak RJ4

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the roofs of houses or storehouses; for, in case of a sudden attack by the enemy on the hamlets of the sedentary Koryak, the inhabitants of underground houses found themselves, as it were, in a trap. For this reason, at least one guard was always kept in the settlements of warriors. In case of an attack, the women and old people would launch the skin boats, if the sea was open, so as to be ready to flee, in case of defeat, with the surviving warriors. I was told that the inhabitants of the old settlement near the mouth of the river Gishiga, having lost a battle with the Cossacks, took to their skin boats, and succeeded in escaping to the Yamsk Koryak. At the mouth of the river Nayakhan I saw traces of a fortified settlement. It was situated on a rooky promontory, with cliffs on three sides rising abruptly from the sea. On the fourth side there is a steep descent to the river-valley. This slope had been protected with a stone rampart. Piles of stones which once formed the wall are still visible. Tradition relates that the Russians were led there by Tungus who were hostile to the Koryak. The latter stubbornly defended the approach to the village. It was winter, and they poured water on the slope to make it slippery. During one night the Russians forged sharp iron ice-creepers, tied them under the soles of their fur boots, and stormed the fort. Many of them perished from the arrows of the Koryak and from stones which they rolled down; but as they were many, their fire-arms gave them the victory in the end. Thereupon the Koryak warriors slew all the women and children in their houses. Many of them committed suicide, and only a few found safety in flight by sliding down the cliffs to the sea, and reaching Paren over the ice. I found traces of a fortified settlement also in the Bay of Atykino (Plate XXIX, Fig. 2).

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At sight of an enemy, the Reindeer Koryak drove their herds up the mountains and defended the approach. In the open tundra they would surround the camp with a wall of sleighs placed upright and tied together with thongs, having first driven the reindeer into the corral. From this fortified corral the warriors would make sallies or go out to accept a challenge to single-handed fights with the champions of the invaders.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R44 Koryak R44

tales do we find any trace of the representative principle before the advent of the Russians. The principle of seniority dominated in the settlement as well as in the family. By seniority we must not understand greater age alone, but also greater physical strength. Aged weaklings were not considered. As long as no stronger man appeared, the founder of the settlement was the elder. The sacred post[1] erected by him was regarded as the guardian of the entire settlement. The strong man always had several wives and many children, and after his death his family continued to dominate in the settlement. In the reports of the Cossacks who fought the Koryak, mention is made of the elders of settlements. There the Yakut name Toyon is given them, which name in Yakut also means the representative of a clan or gens. The Koryak called them E'yem, which means "the strong one." What the power of these leaders was cannot be gathered from these reports; but they relate that the settlements would at times combine into defensive and offensive unions, as was the case during the uprisings of the Koryak against the Russian conquerors. What part was played in the formation of these unions by the E'yems, what part by the mass of the Koryak, we do not know. During battles the extreme authority was vested in the "strong men" and the good warriors, but leadership in war was not always accorded to the elder in times of peace.

The family shamans and the professional shamans, who regulated the family cult and the general religious life of the people, enjoyed a position of a certain prominence in social affairs. Often the "elders" and "braves" themselves possessed shamanistic powers, or they kept shaman helpers, whose magic assisted them in their combats with enemies.

The fortification of a settlement[2] was the concern of all its inhabitants. I have spoken before of the guardians of settlements and of the communal character of the whale festival.[3] It is very probable that in ancient times special houses were set apart in the villages for gatherings and feasts. In describing the whale festival[4] I pointed out that the celebrations took place in the largest house of the village, that the fire of the hearth was kept alive by wood supplied by each and every one of the participating families, the beds and sleeping-tents having previously been carried out of doors. Thus the dwelling was temporarily transformed into a public house, the family hearth became a communal hearth, and all the inhabitants of the settlement cooked their meals at its fire. I saw another public house at the fair in the Palpal. This house was a large skin tent built by all the Reindeer Koryak who had come to the fair.[5] In one myth[6] we are told that in the centre of the kalau settlement a large house was situated, where the kalau were gathered for a council.

We find another manifestation of social tendencies in the still surviving

[1] See Part I, Fig. 4, p. 37. [2] See p. 563. [3] See Part I, p. 67.
[4] Ibid., p. 71. [5] See p. 451; also Plate XIX, Fig. 2. [6] See Part I, p. 314, No. 114.

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

765 783 and the *Shaman*, driving the horns into the earth, pretends that he ſends a herd of deer to the dead. After this they return home, and in order to purify themſelves, they paſs between two rods which are fixed in the ground; the *Shaman*, at the ſame time beating them with another, conjures the dead not to take them away.

171 726 411 462 In all other cuſtoms and ceremonies they agree with the *Kamtſchadales*; as in making war, which is generally by ſurpriſing their enemies. Their arms conſiſt in bows, arrows, and ſpears, formerly pointed with bones or flint. Their women are employed in dreſſing their furrs, making cloaths and ſhoes. The *Koreki* women, indeed, are employed in cookery, which thoſe of *Kamtſchatka* are not.

CHAP.